THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

May 14, 1949

THE GREEK PROBLEM

AN EDITORIAL

Full Report Of New York Conference On World Peace:

Messages From World's Cultural Leaders—Panel Discussions—
Resolutions—Pickets and Press

The "Rum & Coca-Cola Republic"

Andrew Roth

SHANGHAI'S DEFENSE

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 113 GY1,000,000 NUMBER 11

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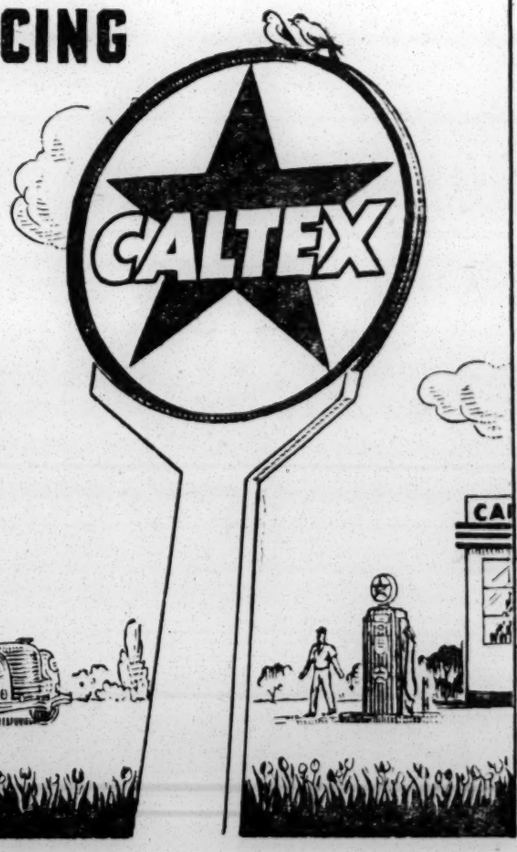

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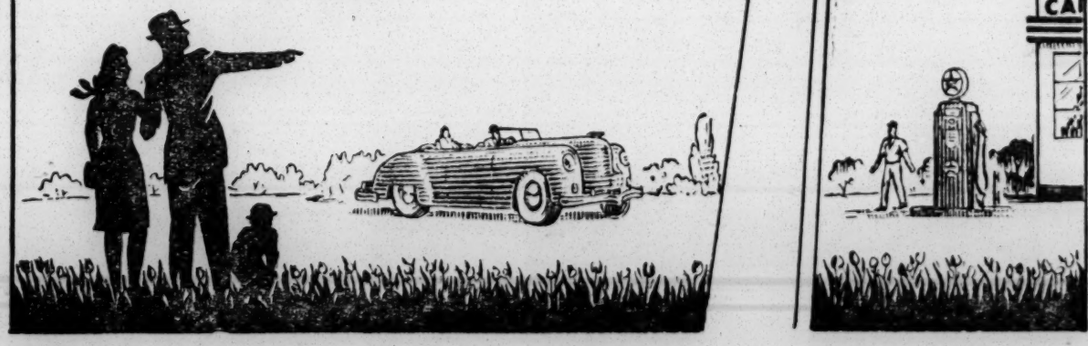

LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Shake Off Yoke

To The Editor:

We human beings, no matter whether Chinese, Americans, or British, are at times subject to emotions. During this most critical hour when our national life (not "Nationalists' life") is at stake, both the Chinese and the foreigners living or staying here have to keep calm and fair-minded. Of course I am quite sympathetic with the losses incurred by the officers and sailors killed, wounded, and missing aboard the British warships who should not have been involved in our Civil War. But if their relatives at home are ever justified in crying against their own government and cursing the Chinese Communists, why, the 252 Communist casualties caused by the return fire of British guns are none the less worthy of sympathy and condolence.

As far as how things here are going is concerned, I wish to submit my humble opinion to such big shots as Winston Churchill of Britain, Senator Connally and Claire Chennault of America, General MacArthur of "Japan," and even our scholarly Dr. Hu Shih and our Ambassador Wellington Koo now in the States.

The recent developments in China have been brought about not only by the revolutionary activities of the Communists but also by the popular change of mental attitude and the struggle for living among the masses. To lay too much emphasis on Communist military strength and success does not show keen insight into the present situation. National security, national liberation, and national resurrection are what the Chinese have been dreaming for these several decades. If now the change has to come, there will be no outside power, whether political or military, that can turn the tide.

Those who still look at the Chinese nation from the colonial point of view as was done during and after the Northern Expedition are wrong. For we can see clearly between those who want peace and those who want war, and those who pay lip-service to peace and freedom do not seem to respect other people's right of voting their own form of government and their desire to get away from fear and want.

China must live and the Chinese people have to shake off the yoke of feudalism at home and the yoke of imperialism abroad.

A CULTURAL WORKER.

Shanghai
April 27, 1949

Harebrained Militarist

To The Editor:

Commenting upon your editorial "An Ill-advised Old Man," (*Review*, April 23) I take my hat off to your mellow judgement, because under the same circumstances I would have called General MacArthur a thorough-bred harebrained militarist without any sense of the legality and dimension of things; that is to say, that "he is a man who knows nothing and understands nothing" and is hence unfit for further active service.

For instance, when General MacArthur got himself and his staff in hot water

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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about the release of the story about an alleged prewar Russian spy ring in Japan, he passed the buck to his chief intelligence officer, Major-General C. A. Willoughby. Again, he was ill-advised by that jelly-boned pseudo-diplomat, William Bullitt to take up the generalship of the KMT military machine to combat communism in China, but I am glad that this foolish move did not go through, or General MacArthur would have been additionally stigmatized as an American militarist with a dictator's complex, without a dictator's equivalent capabilities.

Now let us see what Hallett Abend said in his article "Strange Case of MacArthur in Japan" (*Look*, January 15) about the flat failure of MacArthur's regime in Japan. Abend said that MacArthur made a costly botch of the unfamiliar task of rebuilding the fallen empire's shattered political and economic structure, although he spent $400,000,000 of the American taxpayer's money per year (excluding the costs of the military occupation). In spite of this, the American position in the entire Far East faces this situation: Japan, economically in dire straits, politically Christian democracy not within sight, with the communists gaining ground steadily; Korea, with an American army of 25,000 men probably to meet the fate of MacArthur's Army in Bataan, 1941; and China left a prodigal son. Yet MacArthur has had an absolutely free hand in spite of those misnomer checks—the White House, the Potsdam Declaration, the 11-power Far Eastern Commission in Washington and the abortive Allied Council for Japan.

In conclusion, I agree with Mr. Andrew Roth that the West has, for the most part, completely misread the most basic Asian demands, political independence and economic improvement.

(Six lines deleted by the censor—Editor.)

CHINESE JOHN THE BAPTIST
Chengtu, Szechuen
April 27, 1949.

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Silver Puppet

To The Editor:

It is reported that the travel fares of the partly running Nanking-Shanghai and Shanghai-Hangchow railways are to be based on silver dollars.

After August 19, of last year, when Chiang Ching-kuo started to put into practice his economic reforms, the people were forbidden to keep silver dollars, US dollars and gold. The new currency, Gold Yuan, was to be the only legal money in China. Obediently, the Chinese people handed to their Government their silver dollars, foreign money and gold, exchanging them for Gold Yuan at the officially fixed rates. Those who refused to do so were arrested and fined.

Some months later, this strictness was abandoned. GY was still the only currency used throughout China, but..... but, the Government said, silver dollars and gold might be kept by the people if not used in transactions. In time, silver dollars and gold reappeared on the black market, and the officially supported GY has now become the puppet of the silver dollar. "How much is this, sir?" "Three silver dollars." "How much is that?" "Six silver dollars." Yes, silver dollars!

For demanding silver dollars in trade, the merchants might be excused, but by no means the Government. It did not permit the people, only half a year ago, to keep silver and gold. How can it now demand the things forbidden to the people? Though the railways are not the Government itself, they belong to the Government, or the so called "national enterprises." If the Government has a little memory left, how ashamed it ought to be, thinking of what it did then and what it does now!

H. Y.

Hangchow
April 27, 1949

Great Changes

To The Editor:

I would like to discuss some matters dealing with southwest China. Since peace talks broke down on April 23 the Gold Yuan is no longer the medium of exchange and has been openly refused by our fellow countrymen. Its area of circulation has been restricted to a few large cities such as Chungking, Kweiyang and Chengtu. People travelling in the southwest would probably starve if they had to rely on the Gold Yuan. Instead, one must have silver dollars, old copper, foreign money and even rice in order to get along.

Not only is business becoming more and more difficult to carry out under such conditions but public servants find themselves in even more difficulty since they always only have a small amount of Gold Yuan which businessmen are reluctant to accept.

(Five lines deleted by the censor—Editor.)

L. C. F.

Kweichow, Kweiyang
May 3, 1949

Student Strike

To The Editor:

I was greatly excited to find my letter published on April 9 in your famous and progressive magazine. The *Review* represents a just and democratic publication and I feel fortunate to be able to read it.

More than four weeks ago students of every category in different places throughout our country exerted all their efforts on behalf of relieving the plight of their teachers who were on the verge of starvation. We, the students of National Kweichow University, immediately organized a movement to save our professors from cold and hunger. We went by foot to the city of Kweiyang, about nine kilometers from our college, for the purpose of demanding the aid of the local government as well as some contributions from the rich. But after two days we only succeeded in getting some silver dollars and daily necessities and totally failed to get a helping hand from the local government. We returned overcome with weariness but were persuaded by our professors to go to classes once more. We then telegraphed the National Government asking immediate aid for the professors.

Two weeks passed and except for a few official documents we received no aid from

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the National Government. Because of the suffering from hunger and cold both the faculty council and the student self-governing association voted to strike for a satisfactory settlement.

Since the failure of the peace negotiations the Government has not in any way taken any notice of us. (One line deleted by the censor—Editor.) The faculty council voted to re-open classes but the students have insisted on continuing the strike until practical relief for the professors is granted. Two or more student representatives will be elected to go to Chungking to ask the Southwest Pacification Bureau for starvation relief. Of course, we will continue to strike in order to win relief but when our aim can be arrived at is still unknown. The key to the solution is up to the central and local governments.

W. M. T.

Kweichow, Kweiyang
May 1, 1949

School's Misfortune

To The Editor:

Misfortunes have been heaped on our school.

First, on April 16 we staged a strike supporting the Nanking Students' Incident of April 1. This was followed by the teachers' strike asking to be paid their salaries. Then, on April 21, the Students Self-Governing Committee decided on a demonstration to support their teachers' demands. But martial law was imposed and the proposed demonstration could not be held.

On April 22 our school, the First Municipal Middle School of Chungking, was surrounded by soldiers and policemen armed with pistols and machine-guns. Our principal and some of our schoolmates were arrested, while the rest of us were kept under guard in the school buildings. Then came the last blow. The mayor ordered our school to be dispersed.

Now we all feel very depressed, deprived of our principal and of our school.

COGENT CHOW.

Chungking
April 29, 1949

"Letter-Friend"

To The Editor:

My knowledge of the English language being very poor and, as your *Review's* English Lesson-LXII, December 18, 1948 stated: "To learn English, one must expose oneself to it in every way possible....it is best to check up with a foreign friend first," I feel strongly my need of a foreign or Chinese English-speaking friend.

So, will you be kind enough to introduce me to a foreign or English-speaking Chinese correspondent who would like to become my "letter-friend".

E. H. SU.

Jwei-An, Chekiang
April 10, 1949

Best Magazine

To The Editor:

Two years ago, one of my teachers said that the best English magazine in our country is *The China Weekly Review* and that students should pay great attention to it. Since then, I have not lost any opportunity to read it.

For the time being, the sky-rocketing prices of magazines and books deprive me of the means of buying your magazine. As our school library no longer takes it on account of its high price, the only way left is to go to a friendly bookstore and read it while standing by, which is really not convenient at all. Therefore I wonder if you could kindly send me a free subscription for three months.

JIAUN-CHANG WU.

Changsha, Hunan
April 19, 1949

Yamen Wives

To The Editor:

Nowadays Chinese officials are feverishly aping the bad conduct of some of the profligate American millionaires. Apart from indulging in every conceivable luxury that can be bought with money, squeezed out of the sweat and blood of their own people, they manifest a licentious trait that even undoes their Manadrin predecessors in spite of the latters' high record in concubine-rearing. Formal polygamy being regarded at the present as backward, barbarous and, at the least, out of fashion, they have resorted to the Chinese modern expedient of maintaining Yamen wives, an institution corresponding to the so-called "office-wives" in the United States. In this self-believed "civilized" way their abnormal sexual hunger is appeared.

The Yamen wife invariably bears the innocent title of His Excellency's personal secretary, which status enables them to meet anywhere in the strictest privacy and, in the mean time, publicly. As a matter of fact, her secretarial duties are more often performed in the private car of the Shanghai Nanking Railway night train or the dazzling cabarets in the ex-settlements of Shanghai than in his humdrum Nanking Yamen. He does not have to bother about paying her, for as a Yamen secretary she is automatically placed on the Government payroll. In other words, a Yamen wife is kept at the public's expense.

CHEN KUO-CHIH.

Ningpo, Chekiang
April 17, 1949

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Macao Flourishes

To The Editor:

Macao, situated in the neighborhood of the Chungsan district of Kwangtung, the native home of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, has been a Portuguese settlement since the Ming dynasty. Although Macao belongs to the Portuguese, yet the majority of its inhabitants are Cantonese. During World War II, it was reported that Japan did not occupy Macao militarily, but the place was under the strict political control of Japan. For this reason, Macao remained intact throughout the Pacific war except for the demolition of its ammunition depot, which, being owned by Japan, was bombed by Allied planes. After VJ Day, Macao was returned to the Portuguese.

There are many attractive scenic spots in Macao which have usually drawn many visitors from the other provinces. Because of the present chaotic situation existing in China, many rich Chinese have sought refuge in Macao to enjoy a peaceful and quiet life. Communications in Macao are convenient. There are steamers plying between Macao and Hongkong, and between Macao and Canton in addition to the weekend air flight between Macao and Hongkong.

Commodity prices in Macao are stable and quite low. For the convenience of visitors from other provinces, Hongkong notes circulate freely. The exchange rate between Portuguese notes and Hongkong dollars is officially fixed without much fluctuation, i.e. 10 Hongkong dollars for eight Portuguese notes.

Gambling houses established in Macao for scores of years are under the special protection of the Portuguese Government. Policemen have been posted at the gate of each gambling den; pawnshops have, likewise, been set up in the vicinity for the convenience of gamblers. It is said that the Portuguese Government yearly collects a million Portuguese dollars in gambling. That is why Macao is called the "Monte Carlo" of the Far East.

ALFRED WANG.

Canton, Kwangtung
April 19, 1949

Hungry People

To The Editor:

At Chungking University the professors and students have lost the privilege of living as their allowances do not allow them to buy enough food to maintain their own lives, not to speak of their families.

When I first entered the university restaurant, I was surprised to see several ragged and hungry boys and girls with their bowls waiting at the restaurant gate. Then they went around the tables eating the remaining bits of food left by the others.

But these hungry students are not the poorest of our people. The peasantry in the countryside, with their wives and children, are the neediest and deserve our sympathy and help.

If either the Kuomintang or the Communists hope to secure the confidence of the people, they must first improve the living of the farmer.

Y. S. LANG.

Chungking University
April 15, 1949

Hopes For Peace

To The Editor:

Looking around at the people in all corners of our country we see that they are having a very hard time; some have worn the shreds of summer clothes all winter for they have no other clothes; they can afford to eat only two meals a day, chiefly millet, and occasionally a little vegetable. The greatest burden for them is the squeeze, suppression and brutality which they see everywhere. They are always at the mercy of corrupt officialdom. A number of them seeing no hope for change in these conditions have fled to the Liberated Areas. If the Kuomintang wants the people to support them, basic political and economic reforms must be instituted at once.

Officials of our government are known for loud talk and no action. This has made China weak.

Y. S. H.

Changsha, Hunan
April 17, 1949

Censored

The following letters which were scheduled to appear in this issue of the *China Weekly Review* have been deleted by the censor: "Snow Criticized" from Chinese John The Baptist in Chengtu, and "Last Days" from Y. Y. Lee in Shanghai —Editor.

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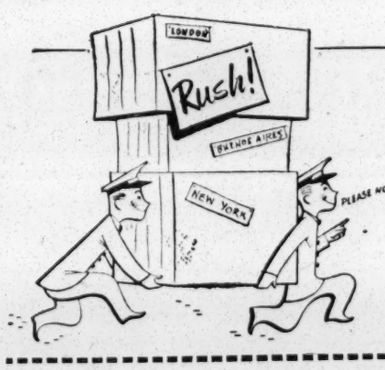

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Shanghai's Defense

DESPITE the widely-reported successes of the Nationalist defenders in this area, the official and approved war communiques issued by the *Central News Agency* indicate that the overall military situation is still quite serious. The results of this may be seen in the various abnormalities prevailing in Shanghai. The cash shortage, the lack of trade, the increase in crime, the closure of factories can all be attributed in the last analysis to the developments on the military front.

Although the city's officials have time and again assured the public that there is no cause for alarm, that the Communists are on the point of utter defeat, the effects of the fighting cannot be avoided. Even the tightening of local security regulations causes a nervous reaction upon the part of the local citizenry. Through many centuries of recorded history the Chinese people have learned all too well that fighting spells trouble for the civil population. While everyone here hopes that the city will be spared any fighting, everyone knows that there is a possibility that Shanghai will not escape. The construction of fortifications on the outskirts tends to increase their fears, as do the sidewalk executions of silver dollar peddlers, subversive elements, and others.

Probably it was with the idea of allaying the people's traditional fear of soldiers that the Nanking-Woosung-Shanghai-Hangchow Garrison Headquarters last week announced two sets of regulations governing the behavior of troops in the city. A total of 18 such regulations have been issued so far. The authorities appear to recognize the importance of keeping the troops in good order and preventing their terrorizing the population.

> We regret that a discussion of these regulations at this point in the editorial was so mutilated by the censor that it has been necessary to delete the entire section.—Editor.

With the promulgation of these regulations governing the conduct of the troops stationed in Shanghai, the local citizenry can breathe more easily, confident in the knowledge that come what may, nothing is to be feared from the Nationalist troops at this time. However, we would like to suggest that since the authorities are so obviously concerned with the welfare and happiness of the people of Shanghai a few more points might be added.

The authorities might consent to the carrying out of self-protection activities by groups of the residents themselves. In several instances, the occupants of lanes or compounds have—following meetings and discussions among the residents—attempted to make their neighborhoods more secure by the erection, at their own expense, of fences, barricades, blocks to some entrances, etc. However, in several such instances troops have appeared upon the scene and removed such protective devices, telling the worried householders that they will be protected by the proper authorities and that they must not engage in this type of self-help activity.

The removal of strands of barbed wire from the tops of walls, pulling away of lane blocks, etc. by the soldiers has upset many people. Some of the more hysterical members of the community immediately got the idea that the troops, for some reason or another, do not wish to see private property protected. This, of course, is ridiculous since the soldiers are here for the very purpose of protecting the city, and not for any other, such as looting. The announcement by General Tang En-po's headquarters of the aforementioned regulations governing his soldiers' behavior should be sufficient to quiet the fears of even the most excitable of the local populace. The people can also take comfort in the knowledge that Shanghai's defense is in the hands of a man such as General Tang. Many local residents will recall that he is the same General Tang who took over Shanghai in such an unparalleled fashion from the Japanese following the latter's surrender. Further, General Tang is well remembered by the people in the many other areas where he has been stationed in the past, such as in Honan Province, where he spent considerable time during the war and where, it is said, his name has already become firmly established in the proverbs quoted by the people.

We can understand that the local authorities do not wish to have the city's main streets cluttered up with home-made barricades which might hinder traffic or cause more confusion than already exists. However, we can see no harm in individual householders, especially those living in lanes or already closed compounds, adding a few strings of barbed wire to their fence or wall tops or in their building portable barricades with which they might seal entry ways in time of need. Such precautions are in the tradition of the cautious Chinese civilian, be he merchant or house-holder. Shops throughout the city have been getting new board fronts made to cover their glass show windows and apparently have not been interfered with by the authorities. Surely the people are likewise entitled to arrange to safeguard their homes so long as they do not create public nuisances or obstructions. Such attempts at self-help should be encouraged by the authorities, since they will lessen the

The Little Teacher Movement—Mai Kan (麥捍)

latter's heavy duties should the situation here unexpectedly deteriorate. Permission to engage in such activities should also prove a great morale booster for the people.

The Greek Problem

THE United States has probably gained more experience in Greece than in any other foreign country currently receiving American aid. America moved into Greece when the British announced that they would be forced to withdraw their postwar occupation force which had been keeping the Greek Government in power.

During the war, when the Germans occupied Greece, the Greek regime moved to London where it set up a refugee government. When the Germans were forced out, internal dissention developed and civil war flared up. British forces moved in to support the royal family of Greece and British mediators attempted to patch up internal differences. This attempt was a failure and British troops were required to preserve law and order. After an exhausting time during which no progress toward either unity or stability was made, the British announced that they were not prepared to continue the heavy financial burden.

At this point, the Americans, who had by this time become intrigued with the idea of geopolitics, figured out that if the Greek dissidents —who are communist led—succeeded in overthrowing the monarchy and the "legally constituted" government, Russia would have a satellite who occupied a very strategic position. It was feared that if Greece went red, Russia would be able to out-flank the Dardanelles and secure an outlet into the Mediterranean. Because of this fear, the Truman Administration took up the burden where the British left off. The original Greek-Turkish Aid Bill provided funds for building up Greece's military machine as well as restoring the country's war shattered economy.

It is estimated that as of this date the United States has spent close to US$1,000,000,000 in an attempt to suppress communism in Greece. What this money has achieved should be of interest to all of our readers who, naturally, are very concerned over America's foreign policy.

When the British forces left, the Greek Government had about 100,000 men under arms. America has armed and trained—under a set-up somewhat similar to the Military Advisory Group program here—nearly an additional 100,000 men. These forces, according to the reports of the Greek general staff, have inflicted extremely heavy casualties upon the communist-led rebels. President Truman, quoting the general staff, recently told the American Congress that 32,000 Greek guerrillas have been killed, and about 96,000 wounded, thus making a total casualty list of 128,000 men.

This is indeed a substantial piece of work, especially when it is remembered that one year ago, Mr. Truman reported to Congress that the Greek rebel forces were estimated at 20,000 men. Thus, the Greek rebels have suffered a casualty rate of 640 percent! Even more interesting is President Truman's latest figure for Greek guerrilla strength. He says that there were approximately 23,000 guerrillas at the end of last year. Thus we have the somewhat perplexing mathematical problem of how 20,000 men suffered 128,000 casualties and then became 23,000 men.

If one accepts the casualty figures as correct, which apparently Mr. Truman does, then the only answer must lie in the fact that the Greek guerrillas have been recruiting new forces at a very rapid rate. However, this is difficult to understand when we are told that the guerrillas in Greece are generally unpopular with the people because of their bad behavior, and that many of their men are conscripted at gun point and do not want to fight.

One of the reasons why the communist-led Greek guerrillas (there are said to be 2,000 communists among the 23,000 guerrillas), have managed not only to escape annihilation since VE Day but to grow in size and occupy more territory, is the country's economic bankruptcy. Immediately following the German withdrawal, the country was beset with a crippling inflation which impoverished the lower and middle classes. However, the inflation enriched the small upper class. This upper class, it seems, is in effective control of the machinery of government and has not wished to take too effective action to halt the inflation because of the nice profits to be made from it. An end of the inflation would have meant an end to the easy profits of the bankers, ship owners, and other bureaucratic capitalists.

Some of the American advisers sent to Greece have reached the conclusion that if the United States had not interfered in Greek affairs, the governing class would have been forced to end the inflation and put the country's economy on a sound basis in order to save its own neck. However, since America moved in with munitions, supplies, and money, it has not been necessary to undertake any reforms.

However, this situation cannot continue indefinitely. Despite the American aid, conditions are rapidly growing worse. The number of guerrillas is increasing rapidly, inflation is becoming worse, prices are soaring, unemployment has

never been higher, and nearly one-third of the population is receiving refugee relief.

Greece is a very small country with a population of about 7,500,000, only a couple of million or so more people than live in Shanghai. Yet the expenditure of US$1,000,000,000 has not resulted in putting the country's economy in order or in stopping the marauding activities of 20-odd thousand rebelling guerrillas. This would work out to about US$130 per head for every Greek man, woman, and child. Or, if one wishes to figure out how much has theoretically been spent on each guerrilla, it amounts to US$50,000 per head if one takes the figure of guerrilla strength at the end of 1947 as being correct.

Under the Atlantic Pact the United States has committed itself to help the governments of signatory powers if they find themselves in a position similar to that of the Greek Government. While the governments of other countries may not be so inefficient and corrupt as is the case in Greece, it might be presumed that a European government which finds itself with a revolt on its hands automatically demonstrates a certain amount of weakness, as well as an inability to keep its people satisfied.

The situation in Italy, for instance, might well develop in a fashion similar to that in Greece. Already there are signs of growing discontent. Inflation is bad, unemployment is rising, prices are up, and the workers are grumbling. What's more, there is a strong communist party in the country. If civil fighting should break out and the United States rushed aid to the legally constituted government, think what the scale of aid would be. It has taken US$1,000,000,000 for Greece, a country of 7,500,000 people. For Italy, then, with a population of about 45,000,000, the US might have to spend as much as US$6,000,000,000! And, it must be remembered, that if developments followed the same course as in Greece, the situation would be worse *after* the six billion was spent. The extent of America's financial and material commitments for all of Europe can hardly be imagined. However, it is obvious that if things go 'wrong' the American taxpayer might well be impoverished and before long would discover that his elected leaders had completely discredited themselves. The results in America itself conceivably might be pretty ugly. As we have pointed out in these columns before, America's foreign policy is being run by men who all too frequently appear to be either not very bright or, for reasons best known to themselves, purposely closing their eyes to realities.

Sounds Familiar

"One Korean battalion commander has tried to surrender his men to the north Korean communists, and the situation of a second battalion is in doubt, Korea's President said.... President Rhee also reported that four other south Korean military commanders had asked—and been denied—permission to cross the border....to engage communist troops." *Associated* Press Dispatch from Seoul, Korea, on May 6.

Ah, those tricky communists. The south Koreans will probably learn to their sorrow—(phrase deleted by censor—Editor.)—that not only do the Communists tend to fight like demons, but that they do such unsportsmanshiplike things as allowing the other side's units to defect at will.

25 Years Ago in *The China Weekly Review*

May 10, 1924.

Pay For Peking Police

At a Cabinet meeting last Saturday, it was decided that a house tax or police tax should be tried as an experiment to raise money for paying the Peking police and gendarmes whose pay is eight months in arrears. Later it was decided that the proceeds should also be used to pay other municipal expenses such as primary schools, etc. The detailed regulations have not yet been drawn up.

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Yunnanese In Canton

General Fan Shek-sang, commanding the 2nd Corps of the Yunnanese Army in Canton, has sent a detachment of his troops to occupy the Kwangtung Arsenal at Shekcheng, a position which will give him preference in the application for arms from this arms and ammunition factory. General Fan is also director-general of the special bureau in charge of war finance, an office controlling all gambling revenue. It has been estimated that, if all gambling protection fees are procurable for the military authorities under central control, something like $34,000,000 a year may come to the war chest. Of course no one knows exactly what the military authorities may receive from this direction. With General Fan in charge of the arsenal and the gambling revenue in Canton and vicinity, the position of the Yunnanese in Canton is much strengthened.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

May 13, 1939.

Japanese Strip-Tease

Tatsuo Kawai, former Japanese Consul-General at Shanghai, but now Chief of the Information Bureau of the Tokyo Foreign Office, recently made a trip to Shanghai. In fact his visit here was timed to coincide with the conference held here by Sir Robert Craigie, British Ambassador to Japan, and Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, Ambassador to China. The Chinese papers charged that Mr. Kawai brought a considerable sum of Japanese money here with which he financed the anti-British press campaign which suddenly broke out in the 30-odd newspapers which are published in Japanese-occupied territory. But the *Kokumin Shimbun*, leading Tokyo newspaper, published (April 30) an even more sensational report concerning Mr. Kawai's visit to Shanghai. According to the *Kokumin*, a number of Mr. Kawai's Chinese friends, presumably officials of the local Ta Tao government, gave a dinner in Mr. Kawai's honor. During the dinner, Mr. Kawai made an impassioned speech in which he urged "East Asia Cooperation," on the part of Japan and China. In order to achieve "coordination" Mr. Kawai declared that it was necessary for China and Japan to be completely "naked" in their minds. As a means of demonstrating what he meant, the former Consul-General took off all his clothes and staged a "naked dance" before his Chinese hosts. The account in the *Kokumin* stated that the Chinese were deeply impressed and that Mr. Kawai's popularity (with Ta Tao) had been greatly enhanced.

* * *

Pig Drive In Hongkew

The crowning act of heroism of the Imperial Japanese Army, stationed in the Hongkew section, this week, was the detention of 989 Chinese pigs which had been brought to Shanghai to provide food for the population of the city. Having defeated most of the Chinese armed forces in the Shanghai district, the Japanese recently have centered their attention upon Chinese pig-dealers, the Japanese object being to force the Chinese to ship their pigs on Japanese boats, have them slaughtered at a Japanese-controlled market in Hongkew and—pay a tax imposed by the Japanese Army. The Chinese pig-dealers thus far have successfully resisted the Japanese pig-mopping-up spring drive.

PHILIPPINE PANORAMA: THE "RUM AND COCA-COLA REPUBLIC"

Andrew Roth

Manila.

WHEN we were six hundred miles Southeast of Hongkong the pilot pointed out the window and said in choice Brooklynese: "That place down there is as stable as a floating crap (dice) game!" We were over guerilla-speckled Luzon, largest of the seven thousand Philippine islands that lie like a bolo off the coast of Asia.

Driving in from the airport, gutted buildings remind one that Manila is one of the world's capitals that suffered most from the last war. After Rangoon it is probably the one which has been rebuilt the least.

There remain numerous other evidences of the war's impact. Some are visible, like the gun-butts sticking out of swaggering pants pockets or the sign on the swank Manila Hotel: "No Firearms Permitted." There is also the moral backwash: it costs two hundred pesos (US $100) in thinly-disguised bribes to clear every commercial plane through Manila's airport.

High Cost Of Living

A glance at the Manila Hotel's rate chart reminds you that Manila is the most expensive city in Asia, 50 percent higher than nearby Hongkong. A decent hotel room is US$12.50 a day, breakfast US$1.50. These prices do not irk Manila's immaculately-dressed moneyed classes who crowd its streets with their luxurious American cars. As much as one-third of the national income goes into the pockets of the top one percent of Filipinos.

Out in the *barong-barongs*, the jerry-built slums, living is also high, three and a half times what it was before the war. Rice is five times prewar and fish, the other staple, costs a peso (US$.50) a pound while an average manual worker earns only four pesos (US$2.00) a day. Only that half of the city workers who are fully employed can keep up with the cost of living. Despite this, living standards here have never dropped to the grinding level of continental Asia. The average annual income for the Philippines' 20,000,000 inhabitants is about US$145 a year, several times that of China or India.

One gets the feeling that the Philippines should be off the coast of South America, so strong is its "Rum and Coca-cola" flavor. Although closely related racially to the people of Indonesia and Malaya, over three hundred years of Spanish rule almost expunged the Filipinos' indigenous culture and replaced it with an export version of Spanish Catholicism. The Filipinos are today the only Christian people in Asia, mostly Catholics.

As in much of Latin America, the Filipino social pyramid has Spanish *hacenderos* (large landowners) at the top, with *mestizos* of mixed Spanish-Filipino blood, just below them. Filipinos have more than a little Latin American romanticism and swagger, as well as its morality. Said a Manila editor: "We are a real banana republic!"

On top of the Spanish rum came a stiff jolt of American Coca-cola. After 50 years of contagious American rule what should be described as a "dialect of English" is the most widely-spoken language here, with a quarter of the people literate in it. (Another quarter is literate in Spanish, Tagalog and other local languages.)

Every gesture of the traffic policeman who stopped my taxi had been carefully modeled on a Hollywood stereotype. Rather unimaginatively the Philippine Congress even has a "Committee on un-Philippine Activities." Half the columnists in the American-style newspapers write like unrestrained, Latinized versions of Westbrook Pegler, Walter Winchell and Drew Pearson. It is silly, however, to suggest—as the Soviets have — that the press is American-censored. It is obviously not only uncensored but not even hampered by libel laws.

American Imprint

There is little obvious indication of extensive US military influence at present. A US advisory group trains the Philippine Army and the US is pledged to military assistance and has rights to a series of military naval and air bases. However, only three of these bases are being used and total US personnel has been reportedly reduced to under 10,000 persons as part of the general American strategic withdrawal from the Pacific.

It is in the market place, however, that the American imprint is heaviest, as a result of US goods entering without paying customs. Chevrolets, Parker 51s and Hawaiian shirts scream out the amazing fact that last year 90 percent of Philippine imports came from the US with consumers goods making up 85 percent of all imports. Filipinos have the distinction of being—after the US — the world's largest consumers of American cigarettes and Coca-cola. Although a tobacco-growing country, last year the Philippines spent US$24,000,000 on importing American cigarettes. This same sort of fecklessness applies to food imports. Although rice is terribly high in the postwar world and the Philippines could easily step up its production to make up the 10 percent it has been importing, nothing has been done about it.

This careless approach to dollar expenditures persists although the Philippines has been importing almost twice as much as it has been exporting, with the annual US$300,000,000 deficit just barely made up by American payments for war damages. These payments will taper off next year. Yet it was only in January that first attempts were made to reduce unnecessary dollar imports.

American commercial predominance has helped stifle Filipino culture. Although American books and slick magazines are plentiful, there are scarcely any books published in the Philippines. Scouring Manila for material on the Philippines itself, this writer found the only books available are those published in the US!

Remote From Asia

As a result of the drawing power of Spanish-Catholicism and American capitalism, the Philippine Republic is as far outside the main stream of Asian developments as if it were actually situated off the coast of South America. Although the first colony in Asia to receive its formal independence, the Philippine Government has almost entirely ignored the rest of Asia, despite the long-winded pretensions by its articulate UN delegate, Carlos P. Romulo. In the last three years this republic has established legations in Washington, London, Madrid, Rome and even distant Buenos Aires, but in Asia it has diplomatic and consular representation only in China (and Hongkong), and, of course, at the court of General Douglas MacArthur. Although Carlos Romulo, the Philippine representative at the New Delhi conference on Indonesia last January, had the temerity to suggest a regional Asian bloc with headquarters in Manila (or New Delhi), in actuality Filipino leaders have little knowledge or interest even in their Southeast Asian neighbors. They are very hot under the collar about Dutch aggression in Indonesia —their nearest neighbor — but have never had enough interest to establish a consulate there as a listening post. The Filipino newsman with apparently the greatest recent experience in Indonesia is an ebullient gossip columnist (and former pugilist) who spent all of three days there. Indicative of official ignorance is the fact that the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs told me they are now thinking of setting up a legation in Bangkok, partly to counter the Soviet legation there which, he solemnly informed me, has a staff of two hundred! He was startled to find that the news agency report, on which he relied for his information, was grossly inaccurate.

THE CULTURAL & SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE ON WORLD PEACE

James Aronson

On this and the following pages are accounts of the Cultural and Scientific Conference on World Peace held in New York City from March 25 through March 28, reprinted from the *National Guardian*. The conference, sponsored by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions in America, gathered together cultural leaders from the various countries to discuss the road to peace—Editor.

MY daughter Mary is seven and like all children on this earth, firmly devoted to the cause of peace. She knew about the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace; within the range of her understanding I had explained it to her.

She knew about the pickets too. She saw them in front of Carnegie Hall on her way to see "Little Red Riding Hood" that Saturday afternoon. They disturbed her; she saw the hatred in their faces. When I came home from the conference on Saturday night, she said:

"Were there more people inside the hall than outside?"

"Yes," I said. "Many more."

"Good," she said. "Then the people inside will win."

That's how just about all the people at the conference felt: at the dinner for the guests at the Waldorf Astoria on Friday night; at the keynote session in Carnegie Hall on Saturday morning; at the magnificent Madison Square Garden rally attended by 20,000 on Sunday night.

Twenty-one states were represented; 83 colleges and technical institutions. More than 8,000 attended the nine panel sessions. And perhaps most impressive of all were the empty chairs reserved for the foreign guests whom the State Department had excluded.

Inside and Out

At least $20,000 had to be refused or refunded for lack of space in the jam-packed panel sessions and at the opening dinner in the Waldorf-Astoria ballroom. Outside the hotel as the dinner began, instead of the thousands of pickets that the press had predicted, the line held a few score—mostly members of the Catholic War Veterans, tireless sandwich sign carriers with a pet peeve, and members of nationality groups whose war records consisted mostly of exhortations to Hitler to overrun the Soviet Union.

Inside the enthusiasm was high. The only dissonant chord to the theme of brotherhood was the speech of Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*.

Having declined a previous invitation to the conference, Mr. Cousins had reconsidered on the urging of Assistant Secretary of State George V. Allen, who told him the department "would welcome presentation . . . of the US Government's unswerving devotion to freedom of expression."

In his speech Mr. Cousins told the delegates that the "hostility" with which the conference had been met was the "inevitable reaction to the auspices under which" it was being held. The audience was cool and unimpressed; there was some hissing.

Throughout the conference there was repeated rejection of the "single guilt" theory for the threat to the peace. Dr. Harlow Shapley of Harvard, conference chairman, said that Russia and the United States "are so obsessed by pointing out each other's shortcomings that they ignore their own."

At Carnegie Hall T. O. Thackrey, publisher of the *New York Post Home News*, called for a meeting between President Truman and Premier Stalin to find a means for returning international disputes to the UN, "not for debate, but for settlement."

O. John Rogge, civil liberties lawyer and former Assistant US Attorney General, said: "I believe that this conference should call for a united front of all peace-minded people, regardless of political party, who will unite in a gigantic effort to stop this nation's drive toward war."

Well-Trained Pack

What came out in the press was another story. *The New York Sun*, apparently chagrined because the conference was not "pure Moscow propaganda" as the press predicted, decided to go the whole hog the other way. It banner-headlined on Saturday: SHAPLEY ARRAIGNS RUSSIA.

From the delegates' press conference to the Garden rally, the Hearst and Scripps-Howard press led a well-trained ink-stained wolf pack. Their reporters were alert for signs of disruption; at the slightest hint of it they pricked up their ears and were off to the trouble area.

The press conference was thinned considerably when word came that a wealthy woman had been murdered in a Park Avenue apartment across from the Waldorf. At the Garden, the Hearst reporter directed his cameramen to take closeup pictures of people in the audience—an obvious attempt at intimidation.

One spectator objected, tried to grasp the camera. Detectives and police descended and hustled the objector off to the station house — along with a doctor who tried to intervene. The objector got 10 days, the doctor was fined $25; the cameraman was held up as a disciple of freedom of the press.

Under the headline: 30 REDS MOB NEWSMEN, Hearst's *Journal-American* said: "Inflamed by anti-American speeches made by Soviet delegates and other foreign Reds . . . about 30 yelling men leaped upon photographers . . . ." The *Boston Herald*, over a perfectly sane account of the same evening's events, had this headline: 18,000 FIGHT PICKETS, CHEER BLASTS AT US.

The charitable Hearst *New York Mirror* said editorially of the foreign guests: "Throw the bums out." The Scripps - Howard *World - Telegram* said "Fooey" on culture. The *Herald Tribune* gave first place on Sunday to the hastily assembled "rival" conference of Americans for Intellectual Freedom—a conference at which high income deserters from the left wing view vied with deserters from Russia in heaping invective on the USSR.

Notable Exception

A most notable exception in the press coverage was the *New York Times*, which reported the conference fully and honestly.

A sampling of papers across the country showed full and fair *AP* stories in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *Washington Star* and *Atlanta Constitution*, among others.

The hysteria in most of the New York press seemed to be a dead give-away to the fact that the publishers knew the conference had brought out the overwhelming desire for peace that has so little place for expression in America. The *Wall Street Journal*, remarking that "no harm was done except by that picket line," said:

"Newspapers gave the proceedings display and space usually reserved for news of the greatest importance and significance; the conference got publicity that must have been beyond its wildest hopes."

The *Boston Herald*, outside the precincts of the page one scare headlines, also criticized the picket line and added: "An entirely courteous reception would have been a better advertisement for free America." The State Department, it said, had "created the worst possible public relations."

Throughout the conference, main target for the photographers was the boyish, serious, sensitive face of Mr. Shostakovich. They surrounded him in every conference hall and on every platform. Mostly he ignored them. His eyes played constantly on the audience and on the speakers; his fingers drummed on his knee, as though he were tapping out a musical theme.

The demonstration at Madison Square Garden, the most enthusias-

tic in the memory of the oldest (and more honest) reporters, reached a peak with Shostakovich's playing of the second movement of his Fifth Symphony. The applause and cheers split the rafters—not so much in tribute to a musician playing on a ricketty piano while flashlight bulbs blinded him; but to the symbol of the highest manifestation of cultural achievement and exchange.

There were lighter sides. Dr. Shapley, who won everyone with his charm, cautioned the audience at one point: "We've got to be careful, you know. We're being classified as part of a 'peace offensive' by those who regard peace as offensive."

Shoot If You Must . . .

Bishop Moulton, at the keynote session, said he had come out of Utah on a train called "Liberty Limited." Harassed by the photographers' flash bulbs, he finally turned his venerable head to them and said: "Shoot if you must, this old grey head. . . . "

There was the bizarre. The crowd at the plenary session at the Waldorf on Sunday was so great that the Fire Department closed the ballroom doors, leaving hundreds reluctantly standing on the wide staircase. They didn't want to go home; they didn't believe the firemen. Jack Gilford, a really funny funnyman, was there. He was carried to the head of the stairs and gave an impromptu show.

Several women pickets meanwhile had wandered in from the street. They kneeled on the stairs telling their beads and praying for the souls of the transgressors at the conference. The patient overflow crowd was caught between comedy and incantation.

When the crowd came out from the final meeting at Madison Square Garden, only a few howling pickets remained on duty. Across the street, patroling all by herself, was a woman with a sign of which only she could interpret the significance: CASKET MAKERS, UNITE !

MESSAGES FROM ABSENTEES

FROM all the conference delegates who could not attend because visas and passports were denied them came eloquent messages.

Paul Eluard, French poet and Resistance leader, wrote: "The world today has to choose between dawn and horror . . . I swear it, and I ask you to swear with me, that a heart is just only if it beats in unison with other hearts. Let us vow that justice is of this world, for it is the desire of men on earth. Evil everywhere must make way for Good. Let us struggle!"

From India came a letter explaining why Gopal Halder, editor, was not present. "Mr. Halder applied for a passport . . . but to our great disappointment the West Bengal government has once again clapped him into prison without any charge or trial. No one knows when or if ever he will be able to come back to us. May the day come soon when this horrible nightmare will come to its inevitable end."

Five of Hungary's most distinguished intellectual leaders, whom the US found "inadmissible," wrote: "Recent events clearly reveal that the Mindszenty case in Hungary was distorted into international progaganda as a psychological preparation for the Atlantic pact and along with it, the intensification of the concept of a new war.

"Our Hungarian delegation, had it been able to be with you, could have presented the true facts . . . We believe we are not mistaken when we say that this was the real reason why we were refused visas. . ."

Jean Boulier, French priest, professor of international law and consultant to the special UN Commission on the Rights of Man, wrote: "As a Catholic priest, struggling against atheistic materialism, I should have wanted to affirm the possibility of the peaceful coexistence of different ideologies in this narrowed world . . . The monstrous idea of an atomic bomb crusade must be absolutely defeated. To refuse me the right of speaking these truths, is this not an indication of a will for aggression and intolerance under the cloak of words claiming religious freedom and the desire for peace? May the Congress rally all men of good will."

* * *

"TO hell with war!" cabled Irish playwright Sean O'Casey, one of the scores of intellectuals who, though no US Iron Curtain was banged in their faces, could not come. "It came from there, and there we will hunt it back; and fix an everlasting iron curtain between its madness and the kind common sense of mankind . . . May the banner of peace raised in New York spread its folds until they cover America as with a great cloak, and, extending out, flap in the face of the world. I am with your conference, if not in body, then surely in the full soul and spirit of my being."

Thomas Mann, one of the great authors of the world, sent "congratulations on heartening success in face of all difficulties." Angered at the State Department's denial of visas to invited guests, he suggested a resolution "protesting the Department's interference with the Peace Conference." Such interference, he said, could only "breed terrible suspicions as to the actual aims of this country's foreign policy."

Arnold Zweig, author, cabled his hopes for peace from "the Berlin destroyed through the war."

Others who cabled messages of support were George Bernard Shaw; J.B. Priestly, British author; Dame Sybil Thorndyke, distinguished actress; Sir John Boyd Orr, former Director-General of UN'S Food and Agricultural Organization; Frederick Joliot-Curie, France's leading atomic scientist; Moshe Sneh, member of the parliament of Israel; Jawarharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India; Michael Redgrave, British actor; Pablo Casals, world renowned cellist; Marton Anderson-Nexo, dean of Danish writers; Diego Rivera, Mexican artist; P.M.S. Blacket, British atomic scientist.

(Text of a message to the Conference from Tung Pi-wu, chairman of the North China People's Government, was killed by the censor—Editor.)

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE CONFERENCE

A STRENGTHENED United Nations, international cooperation of all peace movements, and a continuation of peace efforts in this country were stated as the major aims of the conference in a resolution adopted by the plenary session.

Another resolution affirmed the conference's determination "to maintain the Bill of Rights as a charter of cultural freedom."

Following the conference a permanent action committee, including as members the 560 sponsors of the conference, was named to carry out the aims of the resolutions. The committee adopted as an immediate project the collection of millions of signatures to a "rollcall for world peace" to be presented to President Truman on Memorial Day, May 30.

The committee also planned to appoint delegations to present conference resolutions to the President, Secretary of State, Congress and the US delegation to the UN. A nationwide campaign to bring the results of the conference to every part of the country will be organized.

The major resolution asserted that the basic aim of the conference had been achieved: "We wish to open and keep open the channels of communication among the peace-minded peoples of all lands and in particular between our country and the Soviet Union. It as to this purpose that the conference was called. We have succeeded in demonstrating that channels can be kept open."

The resolution on cultural freedom cited the "atmosphere of prejudice and hysteria that poisons the wells of reason" and said: "We are resolved to give the full measure of our energy and devotion to defend the right to speak and think and communicate."

". . . We pledge whatever skill or talent we may possess, we pledge the strength of our hearts and minds, to fulfill our responsibility, to defend the true interests of the American people, to unite for peace."

REPORTS ON PANEL DISCUSSIONS

Fine Arts

PHILIP Evergood, artist, Aaron Copland, composer, Olin Downes, critic, Prof. Ladislav Stoll, dean of Czechoslovakia's Academy of Political and Social Science, Clifford Odets, playwright, Kasimir Baranovich, Yugoslav musician, and Dmitri Shostakovich all emphasized at the Fine Arts panel that art by its very nature is affirmative. The artist must take sides with the people and oppose every force that degrades man.

"Idiots are again prowling the dynamite dumps of the world," said Odets, "with lighted matches in their grasping hands." But, he went on: "All over the world today man is really ready to spew out the moral imbecile who talks guns and ethics when he asks for bread and a secure, noble life."

"I cannot blame the Soviet Union because an apocalyptic beast is running loose in our world today," he said. "As an American, the moral values of *my* world are in question, not Russia's."

Dmitri Shostakovich delivered a major address in which he analyzed the "irreconcilable struggle" between realism and formalism in the arts. Realism, he said, develops "from the harmonious, truthful and optimistic concept of the world;" it "enriches humanity with its great spiritual values." Formalism is "lacking in love of the people" and "bred by a pathologically dislocated and pessimistic concept of life, lack of a faith in man's power and ideals."

Recent Soviet discussions of music, participated in by "every stratum of the Soviet population," have as their aim the development of works "which must be permeated with great ideas and great passions, which must convey...tragic suspense as well as deep optimism; and must reaffirm the beauty and dignity of man."

He called for world friendship of progressive cultural workers. "Together we are invincible," he declared. "We will be able to fulfill our duties as citizens, and we will arouse the conscience of the people against war...We must compel the warmongers to retreat and we must disarm them. The people will never follow them."

Aaron Copland, referring to a recent State Department assertion that the USSR has rebuffed efforts to foster closer cultural ties, recalled that only a few years ago two Ukrainian singers were sent here on a good will tour. They were told on arrival that they would have to register as agents of a foreign power, so they went home. It is understandable that the USSR doesn't want to send artists here to be treated like undercover spies.

Kasimir Baranovich, director of the Belgrade Opera, described the swift development of art in Yugoslavia as a result of the government's efforts to promote a peoples' culture.

Arthur Miller, author of "Death of a Salesman," served as chairman. The panel was crowded to overflowing by 1,000 delegates.

—Lawrence Emery.

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Writing, Publishing

SOVIET novelist Fadeyev stood up firmly in the Writing and Publishing panel to "embarrassing" questions about Soviet culture from novelist Mary McCarthy, Prof. George S. Counts and Dwight MacDonald, editor of *Politics*.

Though not acquainted with all the writers who (the hecklers inferred) have been "liquidated" or jailed, Fadeyev said that one of the them, Pasternak, is a neighbor of his in the country and is now busy translating Shakespeare. The latest novel by another, Zoschenko, appeared a year ago.

Fadeyev and Shostakovich thought the hecklers should not worry so much about Soviet criticism of artists. They themselves found the criticism helpful because, unlike American criticism, it came from people of the same basic viewpoint as the artists criticized.

American and African historian W.E.B. Dubois made a moving plea for more thinking through about the nature of freedom. "We cannot," he reminded delegates," abolish gravitation because we do not like it, and the law of atomic weights will ever defy Congress." There are, unfortunately, margins of compulsion everywhere: "We stand here today compelled to remain prisoners of our bellies to an extent which disgraces our science and history."

The great barriers holding us back now are the "organized insanity" of war and the habit of refusing to think or listen to those who think. Nevertheless "we make renewed demand for freedom in that vast kingdom of the human spirit where freedom has ever had the right to dwell."

Agnes Smedley (whom Harlow Shapley called "the woman the Army charged and then retreated from") gave a brilliant report on the immoral and futile American policy in the Far East, where the masses take the Four Freedoms seriously "even if some of the authors of them did not."

Soviet novelist-scenarist P. A. Pavlenke said his "plan of aggression" was to plant 20 citrus trees in Yalta as every citizen there has pledged to do. He spoke scornfully of playwright Eugene O'Neill's statement that we have been able to make nothing out of the human race and we should give the ants a chance. "Are we all to blame," he asked, "if civilization was not able to make anything out of Eugene O'Neill?"

Novelist Norman Mailer said there was no longer much difference between the US and the USSR—both are moving toward state capitalism. There could be no peace until we had "a decent, equitable socialism," and it could not be attained by resolutions, only by revolution. Few, if any, of the delegates seemed either ready or willing to revolt.

Prof. F.O. Matthiessen of Harvard called for "repossession" in America of the great tradition of Thoreau, Emerson, Whitman and Melville: internationalism, dignity of the individual, the heroic possibilities of the common man.

—Cedric Belfrage.

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Mass Media

FREEDOM of expression and responsibility — they're two sides of the same coin.

That was the theme threading through the speeches at the Mass Communications panel attended by more than 300 persons packed into the Waldorf's Wedgewood Room. There were 10 speakers and all agreed that the press, films, radio and theater were the most powerful weapons for peace — but were not being used for peace in the US.

I. F. Stone, columnist of the *New York Post Home News*, said the government, in its effort to make peace seem unpalatable, had the hearty cooperation of the American press.

"War, hate, fear are being drummed home daily in the headlines," he said, "and aviation salesmen peddle their wares by proclaiming how many cities in the Soviet Union can be bombed by their new model bombers . . . War scares and red scares have become the principal instruments of a bankrupt statesmanship."

Stone also criticized the Soviet Union for "making it as difficult as possible even for friendly reporters to enter."

John Howard Lawson, distinguished film writer and theater theoretician and one of the "Hollywood 10" cited for contempt by the House Un-American Activities Committee, declared there was a decline in the American film "as one of the economic and moral consequences of the drive toward war."

"Hollywood, like the Ruhr, is a focal point of international tension. Its fate, like the fate of the Ruhr, will not be determined solely by the generals and the bankers. The people of the world are not disinterested spectators . . . We would like to make pictures that tell the truth about the American past and vital present. Can such pictures be made? The decision will be made by you, the audience, the people."

Alexander Vucho of Yugoslavia, poet and director of Yugoslavia's film production, declared that the mass communications media in his country were flourishing because they were part of Yugoslavia's plan to build a new life for the people. In his country, said S.A. Gerasimov, Soviet writer, producer and director, "a new man has been born for whom

labor is not in any way servile humiliation, but is a matter of the creative application of his abilities."

Others who spoke at the panel were: Arthur Gaeth, radio commentator; Victor Bernstein, former *PM* and *New York Star* writer; M. Chiaurely, Soviet film director; Myrta Aguiree, journalist and author, vice-president of the Federation of Democratic Women of Cuba; Pawel Hoffman, Polish writer, author of the literary magazine, *The Forge*; Jiri Hronek of Czechoslovakia.

—James Aronson

* * *

Natural Science

THE discussions in the Natural Science panel showed that scientists all over the world, in the interests of their own work, are concerned about politics and peace.

J. D. Bernal, the famous English physicist, whose report was read in his absence, exploded the myth that war aids science. The rate of scientific progress during World Wars I and II was much slower than before and after these wars, in spite of appearances, propaganda and the enormous amounts of money spent.

The American bacteriologist, Theodor Rosebury, who worked on biological warfare developments in the last war, scotched the twin ideas that germ war weapons are not practical and deadly and that they would not be used in another conflict.

A. I. Oparin, goateed, hearty elder of Russian science, said that Soviet scientists without exception have taken on the job of popularizing science. They also have enlisted the aid of amateurs, farmers and workers, in working out many problems.

The controversial Lysenko theories on the inheritance by plants and animals of acquired characteristics received an openminded and friendly mention from one of America's leading practical plant and animal breeders, Henry A. Wallace. Though doubting that the new approach would greatly improve the yielding power of cereals already developed in the US, Wallace said he wanted to cooperate directly with Lysenko on experiments to improve strains of corn.

Wallace proposed that President Truman's plan to aid backward areas of the world should be put into practice through the UN, and that specialists of America, Russia and all other countries take on the job of raising the production and living standards of the Chinese people.

The only representative from Asia, Dr. D. D. Kosambi, Indian mathematician, reminded the conference that hunger is also a terrible weapon of mass destruction. America is involved in its deliberate use at this moment, in Asia and against a large part of the world's people.

When the meeting was opened for questions, Professor Oparin goodhumoredly replied to some hecklers that a number of "liquidated" scientists mentioned were known to him personally and were still in a free, active and solid state.

An anxious delegate, pointing out that biological warfare programs study all phases of all diseases, expressed concern about such knowledge becoming "classified" military secrets. Since a cure of a disease is a defense against it, he wanted to know whether a cure for polio, for example, might not be withheld. There was no comment from the platform.

—Robert Joyce

* * *

Social And Economic

THE Social and Economic Science panel heard moderator Colston E. Warne, Professor of Economics at Amherst College, report that the US would spend over $23,000,000,000 on the cold war this year. It costs the average family of four $13 a week.

Grace F. Marcus, social worker of the University of Pittsburgh, said that one out of every 17 people in the US, "caught in a web of irrational fear," suffers from some form of mental illness. The yearly cost of hospitalizing such people (300,000 were committed to mental hospitals in 1946) is nearly $500,000,000.

What could be done to stop this fear? Economist Paul M. Sweezy, former faculty member at Harvard, said that if the Marshall Plan policy were really calculated to create an independent western Europe it should be supported. But honest, objective studies of the Plan admitted there wasn't the slightest prospect that it would do so.

"When the Marshall Plan runs out," he went on, "the crisis of western Europe will be no nearer solution than it was two years ago. . . . The American people may wake up from their propaganda-created nightmare of Soviet aggression and Communist plots to discover that the real world is one in which those nations and peoples who manage their affairs in their own interests go forward in spite of all obstacles, while those who put their trust in the gods of free enterprise find themselves hopelessly stuck in the mire of economic insecurity and political reaction."

World understanding starts with the belly. David M. Lubbock, one of the heads of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, quoted Sir John Orr, former Director General of FAO: "Hunger knows no national boundaries . . .If we can't agree about food internationally, we can't agree about anything."

Dr. Gene Weltfish of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, made a documented survey of Africa, India, the Canal Zone and the US showing that racism and relations with the colonial peoples are at the root of the problem. She quoted from Kumar Goshal's book, *People of India*: "Racism is more than a verbal doctrine; it is a non-employer and a killer."

Dr. Weltfish showed that the US is now heavily involved in conditions which condemn hundreds of millions to mass starvation. There was little likelihood that this would change as long as jimcrow imposed conditions in our own country, under which 39 white and only 20 colored citizens have a life expectancy of 75.

—Helen Scott

* * *

Education

AT the Education panel Rose Russell, chairman of the National Teachers Division, United Public Workers (CIO), pleaded for the saving of schoolchildren, whose teachers are in danger of a mass purge, "from the frenetic fringe walking around this building." She referred to the chanting of pickets heard from below.

Referring to 35 repressive legislation proposals now before state legislatures, John J. De Boer, professor of education at the University of Illinois, said: "Teachers must know that conformity now will not save them. As the climate of intolerance intensifies, even silence will not be acceptable."

Numerous last-minute substitutions in panel speakers made delegates wonder how many teachers had grasped the truth spoken by De Boer.

Herbert J. Davis, president of Smith College, who was to have presided, was replaced by Henry Pratt Fairchild, professor emeritus of New York University. Hayward Keniston, Dean of the School of Liberal Arts at the University of Michigan, didn't show up to speak on "Implementing Academic Freedom." Filling breaches were professors Herbert J. Phillips, Joseph Butterworth and Ralph Gundlach, recently dismissed from the University of Washington faculty for political nonconformism.

"Not only war harms culture and the development of science," said sociology professor Stanislaw Ossowski of the University of Warsaw. "A state of constant danger of war is no less detrimental. Thought cannot be free in suspended war."

Czech professor Jan Boor told how peace is being implemented in his country. "The aim of all education in Czechoslovakia," he said, "is to develop a new kind of human being . . . the bearer of the socialist society being built in our country."

In such a society there could be "no Robinson Crusoes"—there must be mutual inter-dependence between society and the individual; the rights to free education, to work and rest, and to good health were "not something to be bought or sold, nor the object of philanthropy or charity. . . . Planning of social conditions limits commercial competition, but it stimulates mental competition."

An Amherst professor proposed campus committees of academic freedom to spotlight injustices, provide exchange of information and a rallying point.

—Kathleen Sproul

Religion

VARIOUS religions and pilosophies gave the Religion and Ethics panel session a vitality and universalism seldom seen in the church. Two hundred delegates heard a competent panel whose chairman was the Rev. Dr. John Howland Lathrop, pastor of the Unitarian Church of the Saviour, Brooklyn.

Speakers included Rev. Dr. Guy Emery Shipler, editor of *The Churchman* (Episcopalian); the Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Utah, retired; the Rt. Rev. S. Harrington Littell, Fifth Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Honolulu, retired; Rabbi Louis I. Newman, Congregation Rodeph Sholom, New York; William Olaf Stapledon, British philosopher and psychologist.

There were such question as, "Why haven't the churches stopped war?"; "Wouldn't it be religious persecution if we were to go to war against a 'Godless' people?"; "What is religion?"; and "Has the Christian religion a monopoly on good will?"

The answers were equally pointed. Said Bishop Moulton, "There is a loose connection between belief and action; something is wrong with our transformers. Thank God for the crisis. It is creative. It will bring the Church out into the open . . . The people will listen when the Church shakes herself free from the shackles of unsavory politics and self-interest and bigotry . . ."

Bishop Littell said, "A holy war (God save the mark!) — there is no such thing."

Rabbi Newman's reply to the Roman Catholic pickets was, "The only thing red about this conference is the light signalling speakers to stop."

It was Dr. Stapledon's view "that liberty should include freedom from economic exploitation; and also that, in a society that is unstable or in grave danger, liberty must inevitably seem less important than social discipline . . . A society which lacks a high degree of civil and intellectual liberty cannot be healthy . . . If we are to live and let live we must tolerate our differences."

Asserting that 'peace' has become a subversive word, Dr. Shipler said: "The word 'peace' has rung in the heart of both Judaism and Christianity down the centuries . . . We are told on all sides that the question of war or peace rests in the hands of the United States. If this is true, civilization can be saved by the religious groups of this country."

A resolution adopted by the session said: "With the conviction that the peoples in every nation are united in their abhorrence of war and their passionate desire for peace, we would summon the religious peoples in all nations to reaffirm their common gospel of universal brotherhood . . . We affirm our belief that negotiations must be maintained whatever the obstacles, and that a bridge between peace-loving peoples must be built by the power of religious and moral ideals."

—Edna Johnson

The Week's Business

FOR the second week, Shanghai markets remained quiet. The financial confusion caused by the severe shortage of cash notes, the unlimited issuance of bank orders by all banks, the several prices quoted for different currencies, and the wide fluctuations of silver dollar rates have all came to an end.

As from May 5, no banks, except the Central Bank of China, are permitted to issue bank orders. Instead, the banks are supplied with cash, bank orders, and silver dollars by the Central Bank. Notes in denominations of GY500,000 have been issued and notes in denominations of GY1,000,000 are reported to have been printed and will be ready for circulation in the near future. In addition, the Central Bank is issuing bank orders in large denominations of GY1,000,000; GY5,000,000; and GY10,000,000. Meanwhile, the Central Bank has issued the banks over 600,000 silver dollar coins at the exchange rate of GY4,000,000 to one silver dollar.

Speculation has been discouraged by the decision of the military authorities to ban the activities of the silver peddlers, the registration of those who want to engage in the buying and selling of the silver dollars by the Bureau of Social Affairs, and the shooting of a number of silver dollar dealers who disregarded the rules.

However, this quiet situation does not mean any appreciation of the value of Gold Yuan. The failure of financial quotations and commodity prices to rise much during these last two weeks is due more to political pressure than to any solution of the economic problems. As a result, there is practically no business in town. The banks have refused as from May 5 to extend loans. Many factories have suspended operations and most of the commercial firms remain idle.

Several special features, however, have become noticeable during recent weeks. First, although the silver dollar peddlers have disappeared, Shanghai streets are now crowded by street hawkers, offering for sale all kinds of commodities, from socks, shoes, tooth brushes, soap, cigarettes, to silk piece goods, furniture, and what not. Most of these hawkers are factory employees who received their wages in factory products and must sell them in order to convert their wages into cash. But many of them have been sent out by Shanghai store keepers, who have been unable to compete with street sales since street prices are 30 to 50 percent below those in the department stores or other shops. But all business is quiet because of the extremely low purchasing power of the people.

Latest reports say that the local police have decided to stop the street hawkers from selling their goods on the sidewalks. However, it must be remembered that in addition to the numerous unemployed in Shanghai those employed by industrial and commercial firms are having more and more difficulty getting paid because of the poor business conditions. The authorities must therefore consider how these people are going to make a living.

The second special feature of the week was the strong opposition to the collection of utility charges according to the utility index. The utility index has increased by leaps and bounds from 140,000 on April 25 to 950,000 on May 5, while the wage index on April 30 was only 371,000. The index later dropped from 950,000 to 790,000 because of the quiet condition of Shanghai market from May 5 to 8, and after May 8 the index was not issued, all payments of utility charges once again being paid according to the wage index.

The utility companies have a point in that they must collect more money in order to meet high operating expenses. The charge, in principle, should be borne by the consumers. However, under present conditions, the consumers are hardly in a position to pay. As long as most of them receive their pay according to the wage index, which is much lower than the utility index, it is impossible for them to pay the utility charges. Many factories have found their power bills so high that they preferred to close down altogether. Although utility charges are being paid according to the wage index as from May 10, this does not solve the problem for the utility companies.

The third important development during the week was the imposition of a number of new financial burdens on the Shanghai populace. These included the collection of a special tax of GY100,000,000 on every motor car to be paid between May 9 and 12, and the requisitioning of US$2,000,000 worth of exportable goods such as tung oil and bristles for the exchange of 10,000 tons of rice. These measures, coming at a time when business is poor and most of the rich have left the city, places a heavy financial burden on those who are left.

Following are quotations of some of the leading commodities for the past week:

	May 4 GY	May 11 GY
Gold	185,000,000	220,000,000
US Dollar	4,000,000	4,000,000
Clearance Certificate	2,000,000	1,910,000
Silver Dollar	4,000,000	4,000,000
20's Yarn	528,000,000	462,000,000
Rice	20,520,000	37,000,000

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Communists Push Into Chekiang And Kiangsi; Li Now In Canton

COMMUNIST forces continued to push their thrusts deep into Chekiang and Kiangsi last week in order to cut off the Chekiang-Kiangsi railway. Meanwhile, the Communist noose around Shanghai has been tightened.

In Chekiang, the provincial capital city Hangchow was abandoned on May 3 because it "had lost its strategic value." Several important cities in Chekiang are said to have fallen into Red hands. According to war bulletins issued by the Shanghai Garrison Headquarters, Red activities in Chekiang bordering Kiangsi province were reportedly rampant. Over 1,000 Red troops infiltrated into Chiayuan from Jenan, showing indications of further penetration in a southeasterly direction. Red troops which had penetrated into Shouchang and Yenchow drove toward Lanchi, meeting with stiff resistance on the part of Government garrisons.

In Kiangsi, the Reds are launching a two-pronged drive with one branch pushing westward along the railway toward Nanchang, the provincial capital. The provincial government and the governor are reported to have already evacuated to Kanhsien. Another Communist column is driving southward in an attempt to cross the border into Fukien province. It was further revealed by official war communiques that Red units penetrating into Shangjao, important rail town in eastern Kiangsi, are continuing their drive southward on Chienshan, near the border of Fukien. A careful study of the war situation shows that the Reds have already succeeded in disrupting the Chekiang-Kiangsi railway.

With the fall of Kashing, 80 kilometers southwest of Shanghai, and the flare-up of Red activities near Kiating, 25 kilometers northwest of Shanghai, the Communists are slowly but steadily closing in on Shanghai.

General Teng Wen-yi, official spokesman for the Ministry of National Defense, expressed optimism in Canton about the defense of Shanghai and disclosed that the main force of the Red troops are driving southward from Kiangsi into Fukien and Kwangtung. The general told reporters that he had no information when the Reds might reach Canton. He referred to a Peiping broadcast on May 7 saying that the Reds expected to be in Canton May 19. "They may be here on time if they come by air," Teng said.

Bombings

THE Government's air force has been very active during the past week, carrying out large-scale raids on key cities in Communist-held territory. According to the official *Central News Agency*, Nationalist warplanes in big formations flew to Peiping, Mukden and Taiyuan for "strategic bombings." All the airfields, military installations and war plants in these areas were subjected to successive fierce attacks from the air. It was claimed that the Taiyuan steel plant was hit by incendiary bombs while the power plant and the iron mills were damaged after the Nationalist planes had dropped 100,000 pounds of bombs.

Similar missions of strategic bombing were carried out along the Nanking-Shanghai railway, and other highways. One official source revealed that more than 2,000 Red troops were killed on the Nanking-Hangchow highway between Liyang, Yihsin and Wuhsin by Nationalist bombing and strafing. Similar damage was said have been inflicted on Communist troop concentrations and war plants at Wusih. The *Associated Press* quoted interested quarters in Canton as saying that the bombing of various Red-held cities by Government planes "has bolstered morale in Nationalist China."

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Acting President

AS the result of pressing invitations, Acting President Li Tsung-jen went to Canton from his home town—Kweilin. For some time, Li's stay in Kweilin has caused much speculation. Therefore, his arrival in Canton is generally viewed as indicating that some sort of compromise has been reached among the leaders of the Government. Marshal Yen Hsi-shan and a group of top-flight leaders of the Kuomintang were sent to Kweilin to ask the acting president to come down to Canton. Yen told the *Associated Press*: "Money, arms and a free hand to run the government are the conditions on which Acting President Li Tsung-jen agrees to resume the leadership of the Nationalist Government."

Commenting on this subject, the *Associated Press* pointed out in a story dated May 8 from Canton:

"Political observers say the present situation could be described as follows: Chiang Kai-shek promises to keep quiet in the back seat and let Li Tsung-jen do the driving, but refuses to get out of the car altogether."

In a written statement issued upon his arrival in Canton, Li Tsung-jen said it was not too late to halt the civil war but that if the Chinese Communists persisted in advancing southward, he would lead the Government in stubborn resistance.

He stressed that the Government must be thoroughly revamped and have greater efficiency. In this connection, it is interesting to note that an *AP* story dated May 9 from Canton stated that Premier Ho Ying-chin had expressed a desire to resign in order to devote his time and energy to his job as minister of national defense and that Marshal Yen Hsi-shan and elder statesman Chu Cheng had been mentioned as possible successors to General Ho.

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US Aid

TESTIFYING before the Senate Armed Services Committee, General Claire L. Chennault urged a "minute program" of $700,000,000 in military assistance over a period of two years as a holding action against the Chinese Communists.

According to Chennault, the security of the United States is at stake in China and "positive action" to aid anti-Communist forces is called for. Stressing the far-reaching consequences of the victories of the Communists in China, Chennault said if China is swallowed up by the Communists, Indochina, Malaya, Siam, Burma and Indonesia also will fall to the Communists.

In turn, he said, Communist occupation of Southeast Asia "will bring grave pressure upon India and encourage the Soviets to resume their interrupted drive into the critical region of the Middle East . . . It is optimistic nonsense to suppose that with all of Asia in Communist hands, Japan and the Philippines will remain peacefully on our side."

Chennault sketched the military position in China and said a "potential" exists in western and southern areas for creating an effective zone of resistance to the Communist advance. He listed nine provinces in this area as worthy of United States military and economic support. They are: Ninghsia, Kansu, Chinghai, Szechuen, Yunnan, Kweichow, Kwangsi, Hunan and Kwangtung. He further disclosed that he had visited most of the leaders of the nine provinces within the past 30 days. He added that most of them either produce or can produce goods which could be used to repay much of the economic and military aid.

But Secretary of State Dean Acheson knew much better than did Chennault. At his press conference on May 4, the Secretary of State said that the attitude of the United States Government had not changed on the matter of aid to China.

(Ten lines describing a previous statement of Secretary Acheson deleted by the censor.—Editor.)

Comment In Chinese Magazines

World Review

THE *World Review* of April 16, 1949 discusses the current clamoring for a Pacific Pact on the pattern of the Atlantic Pact and comes to the conclusion that the motive behind such a move is to rally the reactionary forces in a united front to crush the national liberation movements in China and other countries in southeast Asia.

The magazine recalls that Winston Churchill in his speech delivered on March 31 before the Massachusetts Institute of Technology dramatized the Red danger in China. It says:

"To the question 'Are we winning the cold war?' Churchill replied that 'we must look at Asia as well as Europe. In Asia, the collapse of China under Communist attack and intrigue was the worst disaster since the Allied victory in the Second World War....'

"The above-mentioned remarks made by Churchill serve two purposes. On the one hand, as the result of the victory of the Chinese people, the imperialist camp has lost the cold war of its own making. On the other hand, these remarks not only represent a self-confession of defeat but also mark the beginning of a new plot.... The day after Churchill made his 'historic speech', Harold E. Stassen proposed a MacArthur Plan for Asia in order to fight Communism in Asia. . ."

It is the contention of the magazine that whatever form the proposed Pacific Pact might take eventually, it must be a defensive one in its initial stages.

"As the result of the tremendous victories of the Chinese people and the determined revolutionary struggles of the peoples in Southeast Asia," the article says, "the much-talked-about Pacific Pact in its early days must be defensive in character, concentrating its attention on suppressing the national liberation movements in the various countries in southeast Asia and on preventing the revolutionary movement in China from producing far-reaching consequences."

According to the magazine, the reason why all the proponents of the Pacific Pact have paid little attention to the position of Nationalist China in such a pact is that in their view Nationalist China cannot be expected to play a useful part in the anti-Communist fight.

"It would appear," the magazine continued, "that the British Government is focussing its attention on things outside of China. In the words of the *London Observer*, 'what is of decisive importance is not our policy toward China, but our policy toward non-Communist Asia.'"

The magazine lists many concrete facts to support its argument that the Western powers are planning to use the proposed Pacific Pact to stamp out the popular revolts and uprisings in China and in other countries in southeast Asia, saying:

"Charges were made to the effect that the Vietnam in Indo-China had concluded a secret pact with the Chinese Communists, who were said to be fighting hand in hand with Vietnam guerrillas in several important areas in Indo-China. This story was apparently aimed at seeking French armed intervention in China's internal affairs. But it failed miserably, because the French Ministry of War spiked such rumors as incorrect. However, the French military authorities recently decided to increase the French garrison troops in North Indo-China."

It was also charged by the magazine that the British Government recently signed a secret agreement with the Siamese Government providing for the supplying of British arms and military advisers to Siam in exchange for the granting of the right of mining exploitation in Siam by the British. This bargain was struck in the name of joining hands in fighting Communism in Southeast Asia, the magazine says.

Comment In US Magazines

New Republic

ANOTHER interesting report on the current Greek situation is carried in the *New Republic* of April 4. The article, written by Mark Gayn, says that in the past two years the power in Greece has passed almost completely into the hands of the military and that American policy has failed in both its goals—economic recovery and destruction of the Communists.

"In the large pale-yellow building on Constitution Square," the article says, "the Parliament chambers stand dark and silent. As in many past crises, the parliamentarians—with their own consent—have been sent home, 'to allow unimpeded preparations for a military campaign.'

"The Supreme Defense Council, which could exert some checks on the military, has been replaced with a War Council, which can exert almost none. A new government has been set up under that ailing perennial, the 90-year-old Themistocles Sophoulis.... Real power has finally slipped into the waiting hands of General Alexander Papagos, Dictator Metaxas' friend and chief of staff, the King's grand chamberlain, and now commander-in-chief of the armed forces."

Gayn says General Papagos has at his disposal more than 280,000 men, "one of the largest military establishments in recent Greek history," many units of which were created "over bitter US objections."

"Probably the most disturbing aspect of this picture," he continues, "is that one out of every four of these armed men serves in the extra-legal, para-military rightist bands" which dominate many cities and which "serve as a 'shadow government,' engaging—in the words of a leading Athens paper—in 'plunder, arbitrary and compulsory taxation, unpunished assassination, arson, slaughter, ravishment and robbery.'"

In spite of the $650,000,000 poured into Greece since the start of the Truman Doctrine, Gayn declares, the US economic program in Greece has failed and the country is in a state of economic paralysis.

Meanwhile, he says, "two facts are being concealed from the Greek and American peoples. Since no normal recovery is in sight, economic plans for Greece presuppose a sharp lowering of living standards—far below the unimpressive prewar levels. The Greeks have not been told this. Nor have the Americans been told that Greece will continue to require our economic aid beyond 1952, or go into bankruptcy within 30 days."

As for the Greek Communists, Gayn reports, "In the past two or three months, Communist-led units have seized and held briefly half a dozen provincial capitals." Communist party strategy has been reshaped to emphasize its alignment with the other Communist parties of Eastern Europe, and the replacement of General Markos Vafiades, who advocated "guerrillaism," by Nicholas Zachariades indicates Communist belief that "the guerrilla state has come to an end, and the time is ripe for the Communist revolution to acquire a large and aggressive revolutionary army."

Gayn concludes: "Washington apparently believed it could put down the rebellion by investing a few hundred million dollars. . . From the outset, we allied ourselves with the Populist machine, one of the most corrupt and brutal in Europe. We knew that it lacked both a reform program and popular support, but—as in China—we would not look elsewhere. . .

"As in China, the Greek extremists made good use of our preoccupation with communism. They traded their support of our foreign policy for our support of their domestic policy."

What Chinese Papers Say

THE current economic situation in Shanghai caused considerable concern in the editorial comments in local Chinese papers. The lifting of the Berlin blockade was hailed as marking a favorable turn in the relations between East and West.

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Economic Crisis

THE *Chin Chi Jih Pao* pointed out that industry and business in Shanghai are facing a serious crisis. It wrote:

"The most serious problem that Shanghai is facing today is the maintenance of industrial and business enterprises. Shanghai is the nation's industrial and commercial center, and of its six million population, at least 50 percent directly and indirectly depend on industry and trade for the maintenance of their living. Since the drastic change in the situation, Shanghai's communication facilities with the outside world are being reduced gradually, so that raw material supplies cannot come in, while the market for finished products has also been greatly limited. The purchasing power of the people has been lowered, and most trades find themselves in a state of paralysis. The predicament of local industry and trade may be seen from the difficulties encountered in the payment of wages for the last month.

"Shanghai today is an isolated island. Currency inflation will be further aggravated, and the continuous rising of prices will be inevitable. Added to these are the discontinuation of material supplies from the rural areas, and the daily shrinkage of the market for finished products. If the situation is allowed to take its natural course, even the few factories still in operation must also close down and both capital and labor will face their end together. Local industry and commerce are in grave danger, while the future livelihood of the six million people of Shanghai is also seriously threatened. In order to save the city from this approaching economic catastrophe, industry and trade must unite together to seek a way to preserve their existence and to work for a way out of the present economic predicament."

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Berlin Issue

THE lifting of the Berlin blockade and the scheduled session of the Council of Foreign Ministers were viewed by the *Ta Kung Pao* as a distinct victory for world peace, and as beneficial to both West and East. The paper said:

"The Four Power Agreement on the lifting of the blockade is equally advantageous to both the East and the West. For the West, the colossal burden imposed by the airlift is now relieved. The removal of the blockade will mean the resumption of highway communications between East and West Germany, and the Western countries may now resume trading relations with East Germany....

"For the East, the lifting of the Berlin blockade will not only prove beneficial to the economic rehabilitation of East Germany, but also manifest the sincerity of the Soviet Union in seeking peace for Berlin, for Germany, and even for the whole world. This has been openly admitted by President Truman. It must be considered a major diplomatic achievement of the Soviet Union, and more especially an indication of the taking of initiative in the diplomatic field since the recent changes in the personnel of the Foreign Ministry....

"Opinions differ as to whether it is the East or the West which has come out victorious in the present agreement on the lifting of the Berlin blockade. We feel that it is the victory of the forces of peace, the victory of the Potsdam course."

What US Papers Say

COMMENT on China was heavy during the week, reacting to General Chennault's pressure for prompt American aid to save Nationalist China. A number of newspapers seemed to be reconciled to Communist domination of China but looked forward hopefully to increased difficulties for the Communists.

* * *

Not Convincing

THE *New York Herald Tribune* found itself hard put to believe that the $350,000,000 a year advocated by Chennault would be able to revive Nationalist China. Its editorial read:

"Major General Clare L. Chennault has probably had more, and more successful, experience in China than any other highranking American officer. When he testifies before two Congressional committees that an expenditure of perhaps $350,000,000 a year on military equipment and military guidance can still save Southern China from the Communist advance, his views are entitled to respect.

"This is not to say that they are conclusive. As he spoke in Washington, Hangchow, the last strategic key to the control of the Yangtze Delta and its vast hinterland, was being surrendered by its Nationalist garrison to a comparative handful of Communist soldiers. It is not easy to believe that $350,000,000, or many times that sum, would in fact (Seventeen lines deleted by the censor — Editor.) Yet General Chennault himself agrees that Chiang Kai-shek is the only leader through whom his plan for American aid could operate. The situation is a hard—a desperate—one; and it would be idle to pretend that General Chennault's remedy is any convincing answer. With that much said, however, it is still a proposal which demands, in virtue of its source and of the critical issues for the future which the general stresses, at least a full and reasoned reply from the Administration.

"American policy in China today has all the aspect of mere drift and feebleness. Great events are taking place before our eyes and the United States is not only seemingly hopeless to affect them, it is even helpless to explain the bases of its attitude. General Chennault's program may be unsound, but in the absence of any other program or of any long-term estimate of the military and political factors involved, programs of this or similar kind are bound to attract an uneasy following. The American position in the Far East needs a firm definition—a definition similar to that which we once gave to our Western Hemisphere policy in the Monroe Doctrine or, more recently, to our European policy in President Truman's message on Greece and Turkey. If General Chennault is right, his advice should be adopted; if he is mistaken, the reasons should be made clear and the alternative courses charted. Far Eastern policy cannot be allowed simply to drift in default."

* * *

Against History

US papers could see little to be enthusiastic about either in Chiang Kai-shek's reassumption of leadership or in the prospects of a Communist government. Excerpts from several editorials follow:

(Three lines deleted by the censor—Editor.) the *Dayton News* observed in opinion shared by a number of editors. According to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "historical facts refute everything he says today. His military hopes are unfounded, his political judgment is disastrous. Chiang had better forget his personal fortunes, and permit a new leadership which China so sorely needs." The *Watertown Times* asserted: "Neither the return of Chiang nor his promises inspire any confidence either here or in China. (Four lines deleted by the censor—Editor) But it is one thing to win a war and another to govern a great nation like China. The test will come in the years ahead."

The Review's English Lesson—LXXXII

Acceptable Usage, Cont'd

THIS week, we shall continue the discussion of the March *Harper's Magazine* article on correct English. As in our previous article, the original sentences are given first, with the controversial expressions in bold face type; this time, we conclude the list with sentences 10 to 19:

* * *

10. **Due to** the storm, all trains are late.
11. She has an **awful** headache.
12. We **only** have five left. (Position of **only**.)
13. Let's not walk any **further** right now.
14. We must remember **to accurately check** the answer.
15. He's one person I simply won't do business **with**.
16. Go **slow**.
17. It is **me**.
18. She acts as if she **was** my wife.
19. **Who** did you meet?

* * *

AS before, discussion of these controversial expressions follows; each one is rated, on the basis of replies received by the group of persons originally questioned, by the percentage of acceptance it found among the group:

10. Acceptable English—65%. The use of **due to** as a preposition found favor with all groups. The grammatically correct usage is **owing to**, and we prefer it. One of the lexicographers questioned replied, "Useless to fight; it is established," indicating how much stronger is usage than the rules of the grammarians.

11. Established English—acceptance 77%. **Awe** means the profound or reverent dread inspired by the deity; hence, **awful** strictly means filling with awe; profoundly impressive—an adjective that implies grandeur, terror. However, it has come to be used loosely to mean very bad, or very much.

12. Controversial English—acceptance 44%. The author of the article from which this Lesson is taken expresses surprise that this use of **only** (preceding the verb rather than the word it limits) fared as poorly as it did. He thinks that in everyday speech **only** is misplaced much more frequently than appears here. To us, "We have **only** five left" sounds preferable.

13. Acceptable English—58%. The strict rules require **farther** in reference to spatial distance, the author remarks, adding that the dictionaries now concede that **further** is acceptable with either degree or distance. From the few comments quoted, made by those questioned, it appears that the distinction has quite broken down.

14. Acceptable English—acceptance 53%. The "split infinitive" controversy has been raging for years, evidently in favor of the splitters, although by a slight margin only. Grammatically, of course, it is quite wrong to insert a word between the "to" and verb; however, several of the respondents admitted that in principle they accepted the split infinitive, while they objected to this particular example. **Accurately** is too long a word, they said, and could just as well go at the end of the sentence. In this, as in many other grammatical rules, popular speech seems to "go by ear"; sometimes the rule is observed, sometimes not, depending upon sound, or upon habit.

15. Established English—acceptance 86%. Apparently, the grammarians' fight against ending sentences with prepositions has been lost. One respondent stated that the usage has been a dead issue for many years. It does seem to have one advantage: it's shorter than (in this case) "....with whom I simply won't do business." (And see No. 19 about the storm over **whom**.)

16. Established English—84%. Dictionaries now have it that **slow** is both an adjective and an adverb, and certainly on road signs, and in popular speech, **slow** is used as an adverb. But in writing, as for example "they walked **slowly** around the garden," we think the adverb is preferable.

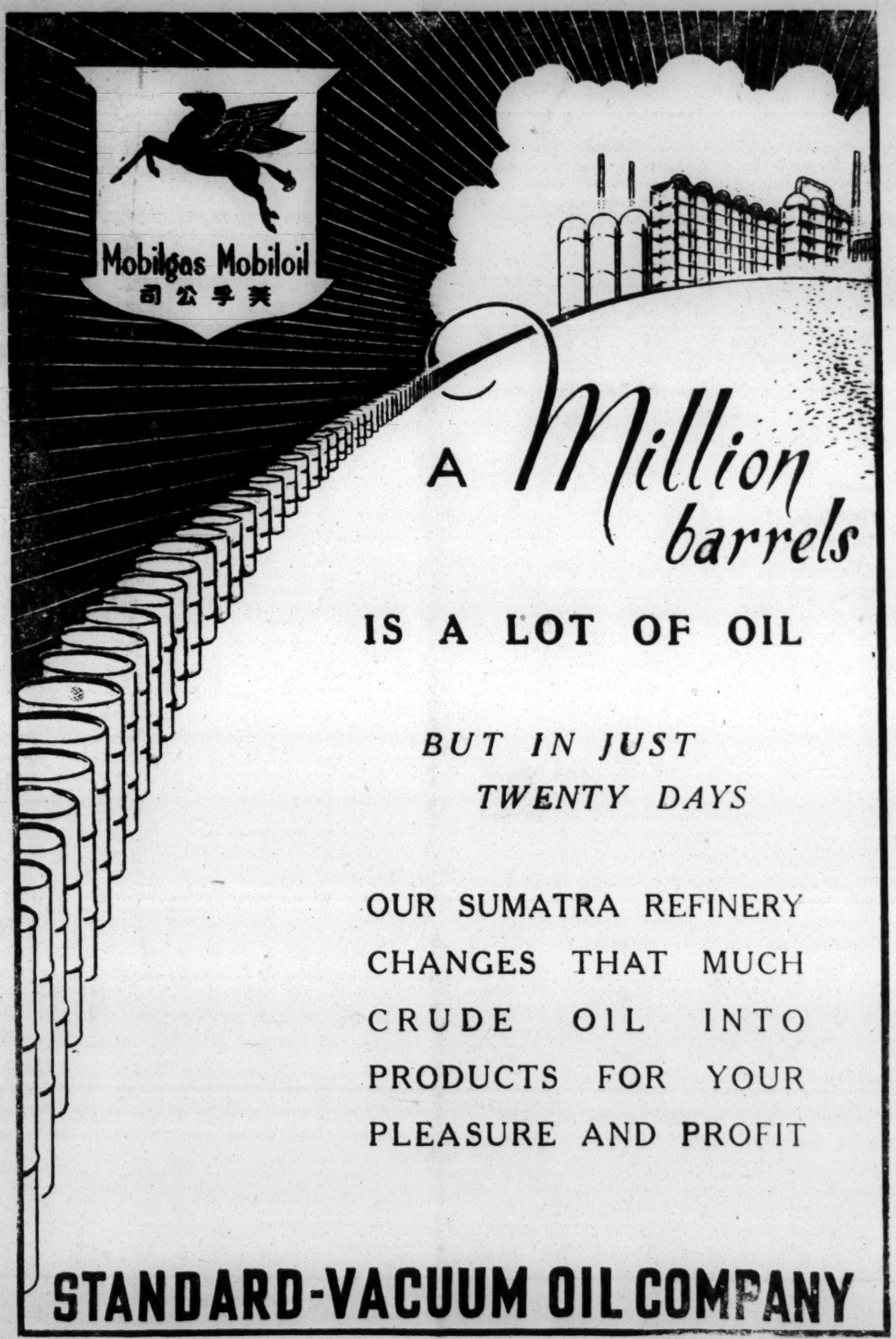
17. Acceptable English—62%. Another acceptance of a popular violation of a strict grammatical rule. "It is I," although correct, seems stilted and pedantic.

18. Rejected—only 34%. The author thinks that the subjunctive mood is obsolescent, but that it nevertheless is holding on tenaciously, at least in contrary-to-fact conditions such as this one. He points out that the phrase "If I were you" is practically universally used.

19. Controversial—acceptance 43%. Here, **who** is the nominative, whereas grammatically it functions as an adjective. The almost-half acceptance indicates that it is widely used. The Oxford Dictionary defines **whom** as the objective case of **who**, "no longer current in natural colloquial speech." One respondent grew quite violent over whom, calling it the most loathsome word in the English language.

* * *

FROM the above sampling of opinion on matters of usage, taken from groups who use English as a direct means of earning their living, the author concludes that, although the sampling is not wide enough to be definitive, the results do show a high degree of "linguistic liberalism." He concludes, that "English grammar is far more fluid and less restrictive than some 'speech manuals' and textbooks admit or than many non-professional people realize. It is certainly obvious that 'correct' and 'incorrect' are subtle, intangible, and relative terms when applied to informal educated speech, and that reverential adherence to hidebound grammatical 'rules' is not a characteristic of the educated speaker in America."



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